

people are not aware of, so I took the time to send to places such as Western Sahara and elsewhere to get documents that better explained a little bit more about who Ted Kennedy was than has already been stated on the floor of the Senate.

I have a good friend whose name is Mouloud Said. He is the Ambassador at Large of Western Sahara. He and I worked together for many years trying to bring some sanity into what has happened over the last 35 years in Western Sahara.

For the record, since people are not aware of this conflict that took place, back in 1975, the Moroccans invaded what was then called Spanish Sahara, later called Western Sahara. There were a lot of people chased out at that time. They fled. War ensued between 1975 and 1991. It continued during that time. When Morocco invaded that area that was later called Western Sahara, the refugees, the people who were living there who rightfully should be in that area, who should be living there today, were chased into Algeria. Tindouf is an area I have been to a couple times. The refugee camps there are so large. There are actually 175,000 refugees who were chased out of Western Sahara and have been wanting to be repatriated ever since then.

One of the former Secretaries of State, James Baker, was a hero in this area. He did the best he could to see that repatriation would take place. It seemed like every time they got close to working out something with Morocco, they would get right up to the altar and then they would cut it off. They would agree something should be done, but as they would come to agreement and get together, Morocco would back down. That took place for a long period of time.

You cannot be empathetic with the people who are there until you have walked through the little alleys and the stucco houses in Tindouf and see how these people are living, hearing their chants, their cries for freedom. Three generations now have been trying to escape, to be repatriated, and it hasn't worked.

I have a letter—I will read part of it—that ties Senator Kennedy and me to this issue. This is from Mouloud Said, who is Ambassador at Large of Western Sahara:

Indeed, this was precisely the case when Senator James Inhofe and the late Senator Edward Kennedy reached across the political aisle to jointly promote the cause of justice and freedom in the Western Sahara, and respect for human rights of the Sahrawi people. As recognized by the United Nations Charter, the African Union, and the American Constitution, all people have the inalienable right to freedom and self-determination, and the Sahrawi people will be forever indebted to these great Senators for their principled and bipartisan stand on behalf of the Sahrawi's fundamental rights.

That is what it is all about. We would see these people out there, and they had no one to take care of them. The Moroccans, they have friends. I have to

say this: I testified probably 2 or 3 years ago at a House committee hearing. At that time, we made a list of all the lobbyists Morocco had hired. They had everybody. The money was all on one side, and only the Lord and a few people who were sympathetic to them were on the side of those people who have been living on the Algerian border for the last 35 years. That is what they are going through at this time. It is very sad.

I want to mention, talking about Ted Kennedy, how persistent he was. This goes all the way back to his involvement, back to the time when the war was still taking place. I have statements I am going to enter into the RECORD. They are not long. One goes back to October 1, 1992, a "Statement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy at Senate Foreign Relations Africa Subcommittee Hearing on the Western Sahara." He goes through and tells the story of what he has attempted to do, and he had not been able to successfully get it done. The same as with James Baker and myself.

January of 1994, "Statement by Edward M. Kennedy in Support of Amendment Promoting Implementation of Peace Plan in Western Sahara." January of 1994, we thought at that time we had it done. Again, an arrangement was made. It was agreed to by all parties until they got together.

June 23, 1999, "Senator Kennedy Calls for Greater Progress in the Western Sahara Referendum." A referendum is all they want. They want self-determination. They want to be able to vote as to whether they want to be repatriated, which is something we in America would assume everybody has that right. But that is not the situation.

Senator Kennedy, again, went to battle to help them in June 23, 1999, and was not able to get it done.

Then, again, in 2000, he actually offered amendments for holding referendums in Western Sahara.

Later in that same year, he appealed to King Mohammed VI of Morocco to give these people a chance, at least, of self-determination. He was unable to get that done.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD these documents.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY AT SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS AFRICA SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING ON THE WESTERN SAHARA

I want to thank Senator Simon, the Subcommittee Chairman, for holding this important hearing today.

The ongoing crisis in the Western Sahara raises serious questions regarding the Government of Morocco's willingness to honor its international commitment to a free and fair referendum in that territory. It also brings into question the credibility of the United Nations in administering the Western Saharan peace plan, and our own government's commitment to the principles of sovereignty and self-determination.

Barring immediate and dramatic progress, the peace plan for the Western Sahara is destined to fail. If the peace plan is to succeed, the United States must do more to make clear—through deed as well as word—its commitment to a free and fair referendum for the indigenous Saharawi people.

The Western Sahara is the last vestige of colonialism in Africa. The U.N. Decolonization Committee called for decolonization in 1966, while it was still under Spanish rule. In 1973, the General Assembly called for a referendum on self-determination by the Saharawi. Spain agreed to hold a referendum and took a census to provide a voting list.

Shortly thereafter, Morocco and Mauritania, seeking access to the territory's valuable natural resources, laid claim to the Western Sahara. In an effort to strengthen its claim to the territory, Morocco requested an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on its legal status. The Court found that neither Morocco nor Mauritania had ties to the Western Sahara sufficient for claims of territorial sovereignty. Like the United Nations, the Court supported "self-determination and genuine expression of the will of the peoples" to determine the territory's legal status.

Rather than accept that decision, King Hassan II sent Moroccan troops into the Western Sahara. Clashes ensued between Moroccan forces and the Polisario, the armed resistance of the Saharawi. Invading troops "disappeared" thousands of Saharawi civilians, most of whom were killed. Hundreds of others were detained without charge—and remain imprisoned today.

The Moroccan invasion touched off an exodus of refugees from the Western Sahara into Algeria. Seventeen years later, tens of thousands of these refugees continue to subsist in emergency relief tents with minimal food and water under extremely oppressive desert conditions including violent sandstorms and blistering heat exceeding 160 degrees.

In what became known as the "Green March," King Hassan then sent 350,000 Moroccan civilians into the territory to strengthen his claim. Within months of the Moroccan influx Spain withdrew, granting Morocco and Mauritania "temporary authority" to administer the territory until a referendum could be held.

Neither Morocco nor Mauritania granted the Saharawi the right to self-determination, and their war against the Polisario steadily escalated. The Polisario's use of land rovers and quick strike tactics, however, achieved surprising successes against Moroccan and Mauritanian forces, and in 1979 Mauritania renounced its claims to the territory.

Finally, after over a decade of war, the Government of Morocco agreed to a U.N.-sponsored peace plan leading to a referendum, under which the Saharawi would vote for independence or integration with Morocco. In 1990, the Security Council adopted resolutions approving the plan and establishing the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

Under the plan, a cease-fire was to go into effect on September 6, 1991, and the referendum was to be held in early 1992. The parties agreed to use the 1974 Spanish census, which recorded approximately 74,000 Saharawis, to establish a voting list for the referendum.

Yet, only days before the cease-fire was to go into effect, Morocco bombed a compound that the Saharawi had constructed to house MINURSO personnel.

Inexplicably, the United States was the sole country on the U.N. Security Council which failed to condemn this outrageous action.